2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

tween the Mbayá and Guaná can be thus correlated with the historical juxtoposition of a warlike hunting tribe and a less warlike agricultural tribe.

The introduction of the horse into the Chaco both altered and accentuated the already existing relationships between the Mbayá and Guaná. Quite characteristically the warlike Guaicurú-speaking people were the first to adopt the horse. The Mbayá are said to have had the horse by 1672 (Azara, 1923, vol. 2, p. 58). To the Mbayá bands the horse gave increased mobility and striking power. The more distant tribes and even the Spanish outposts could now be reached and raided with impunity. The use of iron for making spearheads, knives, and axes added to the power of the individual warrior. With increased military power came increased wealth in war captives, horses, cattle, and other loot. The social distinctions based on birth, military exploits, and wealth became more pronounced. War captives became so numerous that they could no longer be absorbed and became, in reality, a slave class. The leading chiefs and their relatives adopted a proud and arrogant attitude in keeping with their wealth and prestige and their freedom from the mundane tasks of hunting and fishing.

The Guaná, too, adopted the horse. Whether all the Guaná groups became horsemen is not clear. The Terena, at least, adopted the horse, took to raiding, captured slaves, and developed a warrior class and marked distinctions of social rank. This development, however, did not break the relationship between the Guaná and Mbayá. Yet, it would seem that the relationship between the two horse-using groups could be scarcely defined as one existing between lord and serf or even one of symbiosis. On the basis of what the Terena and Caduveo say today, it would appear to have been much closer to a form of alliance in which the Mbayá held the superior position. Until the pacification of the northern Chaco toward the end of the eighteenth century the Mbayá and their Guaná henchmen remained nomadic horsemen dependent on raiding and to some extent on stock raising and, in the case of the Guaná, on limited agriculture. An incipient territorial state never grew out of Mbayá supremacy. To the last they remained raiders.

Warfare between the Mbayá and the Spaniards, who had settled in what is now Paraguay, began

[P. 3-A]

which was fitted into a notch in another stick lying on the ground. Dry fibers were used to catch the sparks. When the fibrous material began to smoulder the firemaker would blow on it gently until a flame appeared. Dry grass and wood then were added. As this task was an arduous one, fires seldom were permitted to go out in the village. 372

RAIDING

Some economic importance must be imputed to the raids which the Terena made upon their neighbors. They mention raiding the Ilai, but who the Ilai were is not clear. It is possible that the word "Ilai" is a Terena word for the Chamacoco, for the Chamacoco were being repeatedly raided by their eastern neighbors, particularly the Mbayá. The Terena tell of capturing horses, sheep, and cattle and, above all, slaves. The practice was to put men and women to death, keeping only the young boys and girls. After these young slave children grew up they were part of the tribe and it was difficult for them to escape and return to their own people about whom they now knew very little. Slaves were made to cultivate the soil, hunt, fetch wood and water, build houses, tend livestock, and to take part in warfare and even assist in ceremonials. Besides their economic importance, slaves, of course, enhanced the social prestige of their owners. 721 567 727 [554]

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

The Terena can now give only very sketchy information about their past property rights and inheritance. Whether they ever had a common tribal territory is not clear. What appears most likely is that the members of each village laid claim to the cultivable lands surrounding the village and to certain hunting and fishing grounds. Each family group had its own house and fields under the trusteeship of the family head which passed to the man's younger brother or son after his death. Individuals owned their own clothing, tools, weapons, and ornaments. Livestock and slaves were the property of the warrior who captured them, but their use and services were available to the members of the household in which the warrior lived. The Terena state that the produce of the field and the chase, although owned by individual households, would be shared if anyone was 421

616
the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies 796
white and the other half black. 302

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena 565
were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*wahereshane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class [582]
in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons 881
of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty 565
ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation 622
into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blan- [292]
ket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. The daughters of the chiefs also went through a [562]
puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate [554]
than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people.

All the living war chiefs and their children and 565
relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Com- [641]
moners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children 567
captured in raids, or the children of war captives. 565
Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master.

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and 616
the village acted as a unit. Every large village 701
had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both 726
in war and peace and was the head of the warrior class. As an individual he had the highest 554
rank in the village and drank first at all ceremonies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet [534]
as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a [292]
jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot [239]
feathers.

feathers. The war chief had considerable authority over warriors both on war parties and during periods of training. The position of the war chief was not a hereditary one although his son could succeed him. A new chief was always selected from among outstanding warriors on the basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one enemy and to have otherwise distinguished himself as a leader and a man of courage. 616 701 726 554

The ceremony during which a new war chief was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village together and extolled the merits of the candidate for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would then signify their assent. After the selection was made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age, illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief would kneel on one knee before the candidate and offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that you will carry on my task with success." He would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his new status. The new war chief would accept it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that he must now be in the forefront of all battles and that his life was in great danger. 616 701 [554]

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on warfare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other loot. During large raids many villages combined, the ablest war chief being selected to lead the war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position was reserved for men who had committed some criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an enemy they were considered free men. Fighting was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword. 726 [721] [628] [616] [622] [411]

From what has been said we get a general picture of Terena social organization during the time the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to be corroborated by the accounts of Sánchez Labrador. How much this village life was modified by the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. From statements made by the Terena it seems 105 [177] [231]

RECENT CHANGES

As soon as the Terena came into Brazilian territory their social organization began to change. The political organization was the first to feel the impact of the new conditions. In Brazilian territory raiding and warfare were no longer possible. With the cessation of warfare the position of war chief fell into disuse and with it the social status of the *shuna'asheti*, or warrior class. Although individuals still speak with pride about their warrior grandfathers, there is no marked social distinction given to anyone who can trace his descent from a *shuna'asheti*. Above all, the Brazilians did not recognize war chiefs as chiefs, nor did they accept differences between individuals on the basis of social status or rank. In appointing chiefs as spokesmen for the various Terena settlements the Brazilians asked the Terena to select a leading individual for this position, and as the Terena gave highest rank to the moiety chiefs and their relatives, the new chiefs came from this class further debasing the *shuna'asheti*.

The Brazilian custom of selecting a captain or chief to represent each Terena settlement was also instrumental in breaking down the dual organization. The Terena claim that the man chosen was the outstanding moiety chief of a village at the time when they entered Brazil. Once this choice was made there was a tendency for the chieftainship to pass from father to son. When the Brazilian Government deposed a chief and appointed one of their own choice, they selected an outstanding man who would do their bidding, disregarding altogether the class structure of the Terena. However the choice was made, once the recognition of only one chief became customary the term was no longer applied to another individual in the settlement. Above all, the new chief had much greater powers than the old moiety chiefs who were actually only ceremonial leaders. The new chief was a direct representative of the Brazilian Government and as such was instrumental in making distributions of lands, providing economic assistance, finding work for the men, and in maintaining order in the settlement.

It might be argued that in spite of the new political orientation, the moieties could still have retained their function in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonial life. In accordance with the statements of Terena informants the moieties

speak, read, and write Portuguese. But Terena remains the language of the village. Among themselves the Terena, young and old, use their own language. It is but natural, therefore, that certain Terena customs, beliefs, and values should be perpetuated through the medium of the native language. Shamanism, folklore, customs of greeting, and attitudes to one another and the Brazilians are thus maintained. 177 182 191

We have dealt, so far, with the conditions which have led to the integration of the Terena as a group and to the perpetuation of Terena Indianism. It still remains to be seen how the Terena are articulated to the non-Indian world around them. The primary contact agent and principal molding force, of course, is the Indian Service as represented by the Post manager. The manager is the patron of the Indians. From him come medical, legal, and economic assistance. The nature of these interrelations has already been discussed. But in addition to these primary necessities, the Post manager plays a role of far wider personal significance. It is true that this role varies with the personality of the manager but all are required to provide leadership in maintaining satisfactory relationship between the Indians and to develop a certain degree of patriotic feeling among the natives under their charge. This the manager does by displaying the flag and in leading the singing on important State holidays; in providing industrious natives with the services of pure-bred bulls and roosters supplied by the Indian Service; in giving small prizes to children who do well in the school; by supporting at least one of the football teams by providing sweaters and pennants; and by taking personal interest in the families who measure up to the demands of the Service. 177 182 648

As the manager is the highest authority and social leader in the village, it follows that status among the Terena is measured in relation to the patronage and good will of the manager. Outstanding Terena are principally men who stand high in the regard of the manager. To them the manager gives positions of trust such as representing him in commercial connections with the fazendas, representing Indian affairs at headquarters, and holding the position of policemen in the village. To these men the manager gives special assistance and materials in building houses and 177 554 ● 648

fences, and provides them with credit if they wish 177
to buy oxen, horses, saddles, and other equipment 554
beyond their immediate capacity to pay. On the 648
other hand, if the men are drunkards and shirk their duties to their families and the Post, they are required to work and receive not money but credit for food and clothing at a certain store in the nearby town of Taunay. It follows from this that the manager has close friends and also enemies. The present manager of Bananal claims that he has an armed Indian bodyguard to protect him from Indians who hate him for enforcing Indian Service regulations. How much of this is really due to specific Indian ill will or to the prevalent custom in Mato Groseo of important men having bodyguards is not quite certain. At least we can say that social status or the lack of status is closely connected with the manager of the Post.

The other contact agent and molding force 177
among the Terena is the Protestant mission sta- 797
tion. The activities of the missionaries go far beyond the inculcation of Protestant religious doctrine. Besides religious teaching the missionaries supervise the moral behavior of their followers. Smoking, drinking, dancing, and sex irregularities are prohibited, and the breaking of these rules results in a loss of status, and of economic, medical, and educational assistance. The son of the present chief who had caused the pregnancy of a girl in the village was asked by the missionaries to marry the girl. For one reason or another the chief's son refused to do so. The Protestant missionaries were powerful enough to have the man exiled from [684]
the village. This caused considerable disturbance among the Indians, as neither the Indians nor the Brazilians take the same view of the unmarried mother as do the American Protestant missionaries. On the writer's last visit to Bananal both the chief and his son had withdrawn from the settlement and were living in a nearby town, at least temporarily. Actually this matter had repercus- [648]
sions on higher levels, for the Indian Service closed the Protestant school for some months. This event reveals the power and importance of the Protestant missionaries in influencing life in the village. Conformity to the Protestant way of life is customarily achieved through economic and medical rewards, and it does seem true that the Protestant Indians have better and cleaner houses and are educationally more advanced. Yet, it is

dance and the "bate-pau" are organized by dance leaders. In economic affairs there is some degree of specialization, owing to the presence of stores, masons, carpenters, and commercial agricultural activities.

The Terena as a people are linked to the non-Indian world, first, by being made a part of the Brazilian State through the activities of the Indian Service and its representatives, the Post managers. Secondly, they are linked to the Catholic and Protestant churches by means of the missionaries active among them. Thirdly, they are economically linked to the fazendas and neighboring towns owing to dependence upon wage work.

The attitude of the local Brazilian toward the Terena is one of tolerant disdain. Like other Indians they are sometimes called "bugres," a term of abuse associated with sodomy and heresy. The Indian, a Brazilian will say, is "a drunkard, a thief, lazy, and unreliable. He works when he feels like it and will leave his job for no reason at all." There is, however, no discrimination on racial grounds; if an Indian is educated and a good worker he is accepted as an equal. The Brazilian treats a Terena as a member of a minority group and points out the social characteristics of this group. A Terena, on the other hand, accepts Brazilians in general as superiors but adds that if he were better educated he could compete with a Brazilian on equal terms. That these attitudes are rather class attitudes than race attitudes is revealed by the statement which a Terena made about the Caduveo, "If the Caduveo would only stop hunting and killing one another and start farming like we do they would be better off." The Terena recognize the fact that the Caduveo were once great warriors and held a superior position. But as they are now poor hunters they are considered as having lower status than the Terena. Status differences between the Indian groups and between the Brazilians and Indians are, therefore, primarily based on economic and social conditions rather than on racial differences.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (IPUHICOTI-HIUKÁ)

The Terena recognize that pregnancy is caused by sexual intercourse. A woman becomes aware that she is pregnant when her menses cease and

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

of meat from his mouth, blow on it until it took the form of a snake, later making it disappear into his mouth; or he would take a small plant from his mouth and by blowing on it make it grow into a large flowering plant, later making it diminish and disappear.

This performance of miracles would continue before the house of each shaman. When this part of the *ohéo'koti* was completed the shamans withdrew to appear again dressed in red mantles called *haráramototi*. Again they marched before each house stopping at the houses of the shamans where each shaman would give his colleagues the mead which he had prepared. After all the mead had been consumed the shamans retired and the *ohéo'koti* was finished for the season.

Among the Terena, shamans had, in the past, a position of extraordinary prestige. This high status was due, no doubt, in part to their alleged power to cure, to discover lost objects, to assist in hunting, and to discover the location of enemy war parties, and, in part, to their alleged power to perform miracles. Besides participating intimately in the fundamental activities of social life, the shamans were the repositories and the transmitters of tribal lore and of origin myths and were the connecting link between the Terena and the supernatural world in which everyone believed. Above all, they were instrumental in bringing the people together at the time of the annual *ohéo'koti* during which both the living and the ghosts of the dead participated in observing the power of the shamans to control the world.

PRESENT-DAY RELIGION

Although the Terena have been in contact with a Christian community for over a century and Protestant missionaries have been active in Bananal for about 35 years, shamanism is by no means dead. At Bananal there are, today, six shamans—four men and two women. The four men (Eperú, José, Sabino, and Brigido) were consulted. Eperú for instance, explained that he learned his shamanism from his father who was also a shaman. He said that although he does not have the power to perform miracles, such as making a "bicho" (a little animal) come out of his mouth, he has spirits with whom he can get into contact. These spirits are the ghosts of dead shamans. He calls the spirits at night when he wants them to help him.

[P.45-A]

although they no longer perform them. As one would expect, the ceremonial season opened at harvest time. This was a period of abundant food, enabling the people to remain in their villages. The fresh garden foods, no doubt, were a welcome change from stored foods, fish, game, wild roots, fruits, and herbs—besides adding vigor alike to the bodies of men, women, and children.

The cutting of the first ripened ears of maize was celebrated by dancing the *kochóvonunéti*. This masked dance was organized by one of the moiety chiefs at whose house the feasting took place. A number of men would repair to a temporary shelter where they painted themselves, put rhea feathers around their waists, glued cotton on their faces, and placed a net over their heads. After making themselves as frightening as possible the disguised dancers sallied forth. They went from door to door in the village telling the women and children that they were the ghosts of dead Indians, throwing sticks, and going through various antics. When the women and children saw the masked dancers they ran away and hid in real or imagined fright.

After tiring themselves the dancers went to the house of a *unati ashé*, or moiety chief, who supplied the dancers and others with honey beer. The dancers were supposed to drink until they could not remain on their feet. The more a man drank the more honor he gained in the eyes of his friends. This dance appears to have had a religious significance in the past. It was associated with the gathering of the first harvest and with the ghosts of the dead. It may be a very ancient Arawak feature dating from the time when the Terena were still predominantly agricultural.

On the day following the *kochóvonunéti*, the Terena played a game called *piritúti*. A man, selected for his marksmanship in throwing sticks, would dress, paint, and mask himself as on the day before. The game consisted in throwing sticks at other men who tried to approach him. The *piritúti*, or masked player, came into the village from the fields and hiding behind houses he would try to hit as many people as possible. The men of the village tried to approach within touching distance and if anyone touched the player he would be the winner. The game continued until someone was able to touch the *piritúti*. The Terena

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

175 Meanwhile, we must also consider, in relation to the observations of Labrador and Castelnau, with respect to the Guaná, the interval of a century that lies between the presence of one and the other near those Indians, in 1760 and 1845 respectively, and which will contribute a great deal to our understanding of the dynamics of the old social system. While 175 721 [565] Castelnau notes the presence of captives in the Guaná communities, Labrador does not. The first conclusion that comes to mind is that the Guaná may have begun their raiding expeditions in more recent times, most probably only in the fourteenth /sic/ century, either as allies of the Mbayá-Guaikurú or even alone. The chronicle in this respect does not enlighten us. Nevertheless, it makes it quite clear that warrior expeditions were made and that Guaná local groups participated in them, probably incited by the Guaikurú forays, although it is not impossible that at some time their non-Chaco ancestors, typical Arúák--as Max Schmidt would say--might have carried out /raids/. (61)

61. Cf. Max Schmidt, 1917, Chap. III.

114 [565] [104] But let us consider yet another passage, written already in our century, referring specifically to the Terêna, which in a way complements the preceding ones. It is by the Protestant minister, Alexander Rattray-Hay, according to whom "among the Terêna, three distinct strata are recognized: the Naati (chiefs), the Shunachati (warriors), and the Machatichane (field laborers). A warrior may ascend through election to the [654] stratum of chiefs, but a field laborer can only reach the warrior [178] [567] class through the death of an enemy in war." (62) Rattray-Hay

62. 1928:108-109.

does not mention the Kauti simply because this institution no

/70 cont./

178 554 There is no question that today, as we visit Terêna communities, we note not only a marked secularization of their institutions, but also certain modifications in the manner in which roles are attributed and professions chosen among its [184] members. Nevertheless, such modifications did not occur to the same degree in all the local groups, although the settlement cycles and the historical episodes referred to above have 121 been common to the Terêna population as a whole. We shall 128 deal with this in the chapters that follow, where we shall endeavor to give an idea of the history of each local group in particular and to analyze the socio-cultural variations which emerge from a comparison between their communities. The historiography of interethnic relations, briefly attempted in this chapter, will serve, in the last analysis, as a backdrop before which it will become easier to understand the present-day situation in which the Terêna Indians are found.

/71/

V. Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups

175 From the contents of the first chapter, we have seen that 36 immediately after the Terêna crossed over to the eastern banks [167] of the Paraguay River, they clustered in the region that has as [162] a center today the small city of Miranda. Already at the time [103] of the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, "the Terênas, numbering perhaps more than three thousand, were settled in Naxedaxe, six leagues from the town (Miranda), in Ipegue, seven and a [162] half, and in Aldeia Grande, three." (133) After or even during

133. Taunay, 1948:267.

the conflict--as we showed in the previous chapter--, when the local groups were broken up, the Terêna scattered through a large area, leading a chronicler at the end of the century to believe that there were some twelve to fourteen thousand Terêna Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

/131 cont./

life represents a rise in their standard of living in relation to the aldea or fazenda, in terms of the salaries they draw, the greater ease with which they find work (because the labor market is broader), as well as the prospect of a richer and more varied recreational life (which is not always fulfilled) and the hope of giving their children a better education (which is generally fulfilled, not always in the schools but rather in the urban "praxis"). As the urbanization process seems to constitute a most effective mechanism of assimilation--as we saw in the last chapter--, the attraction exercised by the city over the Terêna can be regarded as a very important factor for their incorporation into the national society, which is to say, for their assimilation.

2. Military service is another important factor, but which, of course, applies only to the male population. It presents to the young Terêna prospects of new experiences, supplies them with a document that broadens considerably their possibilities of obtaining more stable employment, so that, eventually, when he returns to the aldea, /132/ the state of being a reservist is a constant source of prestige, especially in relation to younger men and to the young single women of the community.

From this desire to travel and to know new places--already pointed out in various studies on the mobility of tribal peoples in interethnic contexts--, (202) the young Terêna could

202. Cf., for example, in relation to Africa, I. Schapera, 1947:115ff.; in relation to North America, Elizabeth Colson, 1953:158ff. As for the role of military service, see especially Robert H. Ewald, 1957:164ff. (Central America).

/138 cont./

*177 666 369 829 and one more compatible with a democratic system, something that does not happen in the aldeas or on the fazendas, which are still part of a paternalistic structure (each in its own way) and ideologically inconsequent. The fact is that both the aldea Indians and the detribalized ones, on the whole, are led by the activities of the political parties to an awareness of the existence of /139/ a broader structure that compels them to express themselves by means of the vote. Of course, the consciousness of this mechanism varies in the proportion indicated above, with the urbanized Indians in the "more enlightened" position. It is worth mentioning here, to illustrate a change which is taking place in the Terêna situation, the candidacy of one of their most active leaders, the "Believer," Patrício Lily, for a member of the city council of Miranda in the coming elections of October, 1958. (206) There is no doubt that the

[159]

206. This Terêna, in spite of living in a village--and of being classified roughly among the aldea Indians--is one of the exceptions, perhaps the most glaring one, owing to the fact that he is connected with the city to the same extent as the urbanized Indians, as demanded by his profession as a music teacher and an Evangelical leader, whose story we already referred to in Chapter V. (When this work was in press, in final proofs, we learned that the Terêna, Patrício Lily, had given up his candidacy, claiming that he was not a politician, although he had been invited to join various slates of candidates.)

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

3. Endogamy of the Moieties and of the Strata

The aboriginal Terena social system did not permit marriage outside of the immediate social stratum or moiety. A Naati, for example, could marry only with another Naati, and only if the other Naati belonged to the same moiety. Thus, if he were a Sukirikionó, he could marry only a Sukirikionó girl. This was also true among the Waheré-Txané, who represented the immediately inferior class. But, while these also were divided into two moieties, Xumonó and Sukirikionó, the Kauti —comprising the lowest stratum in the Terena system— present no such division. This stems from the fact that they belonged to tribal groups of different cultures and are here separated from the others by an *ethnic*, rather than a *social* line, as explained in Section 1. With both classes and moieties endogamous, there is no problem of a genealogical order, since the child naturally belongs in the group common to both parents (see Figure II). With the change that has come about in the Terena communities, however, marriages have been taking place between members of opposing moieties and strata. Under ths circumstances the children receibed the stratum and moiety of their father. This has been carried to the point at which the social group has become agamic and patrilinear inheritance has been institutionalized.

The persistence until the present of the moiety divisions in Terena society (although they are tending currently to disappear), can be attributed to their ceremonial functions; whereas the strata having no such formalized activity, whether solemn or sportive, have been forgotten by the individuals of the community, except by the very old people, and especially the Naati, as we shall see. Still, when a person was questioned about the stratum to which he belonged he would try to remember if his father was Naati or Waheré (we did not encounter descendants of the Kauti). This demonstrates the way in which descent had come to be reckoned in the paternal line except that in case of intertribal or interracial marriage in which the father was not a Terena, the offspring would follow the maternal line. This last occurred when the offspring maintained their residence in the village, and it became convenient for them to identify themselves, and be identified, as Terena.

If we take as our example the village of Cachoeirinha, which presents the least acculturated characteristics (R. C. Oliveira, 1958b : 2), we note that of a total of 208 couples, 78 (37.5 %) could not supply us with this information. With regard to stratum membership, the ratio would be even greater in the direction of those who did not know their own status. There are villages that present even higher ratios,

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

in the structure that prevented a Kauti/Xuna-Xati from marrying a Naati-Seenó, this apparently was made difficult by the greater resistance of the Naati, as the in-group, to stratum exogamy. The very same mechanisms which made difficult—or for practical purposes prevented—the promotion of a Kauti/Xuna-Xati to the post of "War Chief", function here as well in maintaining the endogamy of the group. Terena society on the whole regarded as a sufficient concession the admission of the Kauti/Xuna-Xati and their sons as members of the tribe. They had thus formally broken the ethnic line which separated them. But even thus the noble families, the "Chiefs of the People", i. e., the Naati, were very reluctant to admit them as members of the in-group. This is attested to by the differential status accorded the "War Chiefs" and the "Chiefs of the People". The prestige of the latter was much greater than that of the former (Altenfelder Silva, 1949 : 319-320). The Naati normally accepted the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, however, as mates of their women.[11] The advantage for a Naati in becoming also a Xuna-Xati was that it made him eligible for possible selection as a "War Chief". He already possessed the indispensable prerequisite of bitrh for being selected "Chief of the People". We should note here that in each local Terena group there was a single "Chief of the People" and a single "War Chief".

With the dynamic which this vertical mobility gave to the threefold assymetrical structure, Terena society had to find a way of accommodating the children of the Xuna-Xati (whether they were Kauti or Waheré) in the total social structure, i. e., not just in the threefold structure, but also in the twofold symmetrical structure. Thus the marriage a Kauti/Xuna-Xati man with a Waheré Xumonó woman for example, resulted in sons that were Xuna-Xati/Xumonó and in daughters that were Waheré-Seenó/Xumonó. The sons followed the paternal line as far as the title of *killer* (or warrior) was concerned, and the maternal line in moiety membership; the daughters followed the maternal line in both stratum and moiety membership (cf. Figure IV, a). If we were to examine the position of descendants of the union of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati/Suririkionó man, for example, with a Naati-Seenó/Suririkionó woman, the sons would have the same social position as the father, and the daughters the same as the mother (cf. Figure IV, b). In the first case the relationship seems to be regulated by a principle of double descent; while in the second by bilinearity.

Terena kinship relations, with the exception of the Xuna-Xati, had

[11] If we admit the thesis of Levi-Strauss, by which marriage is an interchange of women (1949), then the Naati would be at a distinct disadvantage, since they gave women to the Waheré/Xuna-Xati and received none in return, having to find their wives in other local groups, as we will show below.

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565 554 611 851 been bilateral by the very fact of stratum and moiety endogamy. With the introduction of the Xuna-Xati institution it came to be alternately patrilineal and matrilineal, as shown in the above examples. Some aspects, however, are not too clear. One of these has to do with the extension of the Xuna-Xati standing not only to the true sons of Ego (masculine), but also to all those who were included withim the classificatory term Dje-á i. e., to male offspring, the masculine members of one's sibling group. The disappearance of the social structure here studied leaves this problem practically unsolvable.

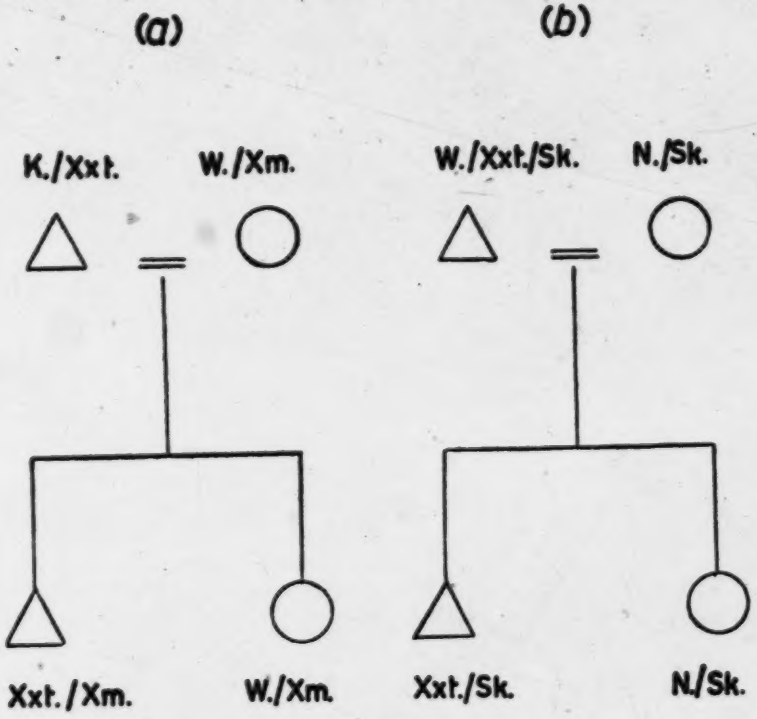

Figure IV

565 554 557 611 In summary, the existence of the Xuna-Xati as a mechanism for increasing both social position (either by enlarging the possibilities of marriage or by integration into the dominant tribal group), as well as political stature ("War Chief"), created a series of aspirations in aboriginal Terena society which were shared by all strata of the

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population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the lical groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society.

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper.

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Wheter or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws.

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.[12] As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found

[12] Today this type of barriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives

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around the body of the sister-in-law and then the old man found it messed up. At that, Viily ordered a tarimba (a plat form above the grave) made so he could wait for the armadillo." The story continues, telling how Viily watched the body of his sister-in-law, talked with her spirit (koipihapati), consulted an old Koixomuneti (witchdoctor) to get magical powers and, finally, lost those powers by having sexual relations with a woman (the myth does not indicate the relatioshinp of this woman to the old man). Leaving aside the analysis of the myth, which is not our purpose here, it is enough to point out the place of the sister-in-law in the Terena moral world, as an objetc of sexual and matrimonial interest.

Concerning this last aspect it is interesting to note the explanations offerred by the Terena when asked why he had married his dead wife's sister. He said that after the death of his wife, his father-in-law had sought him out and asked him to marry his other daughter, on the grounds that he liked his son-in-law very much, was already acquainted with him, and his daughter needed a "good man". It appears that here, as in other cases observed, there was the indirect influence of the mother-in-law, who acted through her husband (the father-in-law), and in other instances through an older son.

On the other hand Terena social structure does not permit *fraternal polyandry*. The permitted *levirate*, i. e., the marriage of a widow with the brother of her former husband, still exists, with two cases found in Cachoerinha alone. *Polygynous union* of one man with several unrelated women seems to have been permitted within the tradicional social organization. Twenty years ago it was still tolerated, as in the case of a man with a great deal of prestige, or who was a Naati (as was true of the next-to-the-last "Captain", and last real Naati chief of Cachoeirinha). Today it is proscribed. In this respect, "Captain" Timothy, the non-hereditary successor of this last Naati chief, comments that the cause of the "Captain" abdicating his position was his fondness of drink and the fact that he had many wives. . .[13] The common practice, nevertheless, had been monogamy, accompanied by matri-local, and today bilocal or neo-local, residence.

[13] Under normal circumstances, i. e., in accord with Terena social structure, "Captain" Timothy could not be a "Chief of the People", since he was not a Naati, but a Waheré-Txané. The title of "Captain", while it was designed to substitute that of "Chief of the People", has not actually done so, as evidenced by the much smaller amount of prestige that it enjoys, which in turn is a result of the "artificial" mechanisms by the Indian Protective Service, without taking into account the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for selection.